B /339 cont./
#171
764

The body is wrapped in the hammock* The grave gifts are

* In Cuyabá slaves and poor people from the Misericordia Hospital were buried in a hammock or a coverlet. A coffin has the shape of a long box, the bottom and ends of which consist of slats; this framework has a white cloth stretched over it on the inside, a black one on the outside.

B [995] bow and arrows for the man, sieve-mat, spindle, and pot for the woman. The earthly division of labor continues in the future life. The Kamayurá described to us the burial of a chief. To A 766 make the grave, they dig two pits and join them with a passage so that the layout has the form of a dumbbell. While everyone is weeping and lamenting, fires are lighted, and each man breaks his throwing stick and the arrows that go with it and throws them A [765] in the fire. The nearest relatives fast for some time, ** but then [302]

** See the burial among the Paresí /see p. 531 /.

they adorn themselves in festive gray, the tonsure is renewed, and the body painted black with genipap, which the Kamayurá prefer to urucú. The widow goes about with her head shaved. The grave that we saw among the Aueto (cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/) contained the wife of a chief, a Kamayurá woman; it was said that mourners from all the tribes had come for the burial."

II. Magic and Medicine Men.

One tends to think of the magic and sorcery of primitive peoples as an art entirely foreign to us. If one proceeds from the nature of its /340/ art, however, nothing is more common even in the life of civilized man than sorcery, albeit an unsystematic and unprofessional sorcery. A person who dreams

/345 cont./ when the medicine

[191] [955] [999] man takes the strong poisons, "he dies." He lies "dead" in the hammock until his shadow returns. For the time being I should like to ignore what the result of this conception of loss of consciousness is for the conception of death. During his narcosis the witch doctor is able to transform himself into any animal form and immediately reach any place desired. The transformation occurs in such a way that he "enters" into the animal. Even today the best doctors are those who drink poison and transform themselves in the intoxicated state. "These piaje who drink Ägokuriñu and go to heaven," said Antonio literally, "are very good, they cure everything, and the others who do not take poison, who merely blow with tobacco, they cure also, but they do not cure severe /346/ illness." The origin and the meaning of magic cannot be expressed more clearly: one puts himself into a state of excitement in order to make himself capable of what would otherwise be impossible, he works miracles, in which everyone believes, by stimulating his power of imagination; the ultimate basis of all sorcery is the conviction of the reality of what is dreamed or imagined.

Antonio's statements, in the literal wording, about the visit of a narcotized piaje in heaven will explain the situation better than my interpretation. The docile Bakairi have, I can only say, [177] mapped up a few Christian ideas and have made them their own in the most curious distortion; for me, at any rate, it was extremely difficult to remain serious when before my astonished eyes Christ, Mary, and the angels suddenly appeared in Schingü dress amidst beiju and surrounded by gourds filled with manioc-puree and yellow pikí juice. At the same time we were amused that the [993] [994] non-Christian ancestors, the "antigos" of the narrative piaje, visited heaven and, drinking poison, changed themselves into all kinds of wild animals. I was given the story when I tried to learn their ideas of heaven.

/346 cont./

*191 955 993 995 539 "Heaven has a ground, as here. The piaje who was there says so." "??..." "He drank liana poison and died. He was then no longer like human beings, he could go into a jaguar or a cobra snake or a sukurf snake or a falcon. He ascended to heaven, came back, awoke as a human being, and was just as he was before. This happened on the Paranatinga. The same thing also happened formerly among the antigos, and the people of the Tamitotoala (Batovy) used to say the same thing." Thereupon Antonio reported his specific example. "He drank the poison in the hammock itself, he drank out of a gourd vessel in which there was mixed a great deal of water, he died in the hammock. He went to heaven and there met the antigos. He also met that one...., what is he called?" (Tries in vain to think of the name.) "Oh, his mother also went to heaven." "Jesu Christo?" "The same. He conversed with him for a long time. This Krito had him sit down on a stool and brought him calabashes with pogu and pikf juice. There was a great deal of it. They talked a very long time. This Krito provided him with arara feathers for flying. Then he blew on him. Then he let him return. He woke up in his hammock." I wanted to find out in greater detail how he had come out. "The shadow rose up a little above heaven, carefully looked for the hole by which one gets out of heaven, and flew back here." "So the shadow had been in heaven?" "Since the body does not go and cannot rise up because it is dead, the shadow goes."

191 955 The transformation thus takes place in the dream, which is induced by a narcotic. It is regarded as real and the story of such a dream, wholly true or nowadays only very much partially true in professional practice, furnishes the material for the belief in the art of the /347/ witch doctors. Their actual merit lies only in their knowledge of the narcotics, and in particular, from our point of view, that of tobacco narcotis. Antonio told me that

* The occasion for becoming acquainted with the narcotic effect was probably during the fanning of the smoldering fire. One must seek in the forest the dry leaves which are thrown on, which

/348 cont./

761 effugere potest" /no one can flee death/. Antonio's translation, which avoided the word "must," yet showed that he correctly understood my view, came out rather twisted after a quarter of an hour of thinking: "I die only (and) we (die)." The interpreter, however, shook his head, dissatisfied; he had doubts which we, too, should scarcely be able to surpress if it were maintained: "all men must be murdered." The Indian seeks the cause of death only externally, in a nasty trick. If there were only good human beings, there would be neither sickness nor death. He knows nothing about a natural ebbing of the life process.

●775 /349/ A second, not unessential difference between the interpretation of our Indians and that of civilized peoples concerns existence after death. That the earth's goods are unevenly distributed and a poor person may one day experience the bliss of abundance, that justice is imperfect here below and the good person will one day be rewarded, the evil person punished, these ethical demands have not arisen in the simple social conditions of the native. His conception of the existence after death does not arise from hope and faith. It is, however, linked with the idea of agreeable conditions to the extent that in the future life with the "antigos" in heaven fish, game, and pikf juice will be very abundantly provided, and it also takes into account the behavior of worthless fellows, for they roam about at night in the forest as malicious spirits, kflain-oroika, spreading terror and alarm, not because they are, say, "cursed," but because they naturally continue their wickedness in another place.

761 For the native, however, the root of the conviction about
774 continued existence lies, not in feeling, but in intellect, despite
775 the fact that the two are inseparably joined. For his level of
828 judgment, it is a matter of knowledge. According to the conception of civilized peoples, the soul leaves the body for the first time at death, something entirely new happens, about which they know nothing from experience and observation, unless through spiritualistic means; because of this unknown, new thing, they cannot prove immortality, but are obliged to content themselves with believing it for ethical reasons. For the Indian, on

/349 cont./

761 the other hand, the process of the separation of soul and body is
794 not new; he experiences it day after day, as we have seen, when
795 the shade /Schatten," shadow, shade"/ hastens away in the dream
828 and leaves his body behind in the hammock. Ordinary death is a deep unconsciousness (coma) brought about by the poison which the sorcerer administers, and it differs from sleep only in the fact that the shade hastens too far away to be able to return. Only the medicine man who poisons himself returns to life. The experiences of the shade during sleep were already "real"; hence its "experiences" after death are just as "real." One is familiar with this reality, which is merely life in another place, from daily experience and has it amply confirmed by the deceased, with whose shades our own communicates during the dream, and by the sorcerers who occasionally visit the realm of the dead; in the latter Hamlet may find the wanderers who return from the regions of the unknown country. To die to sleep, no more /cited in English/.

795 The shades of the dead Bakaïrí go to heaven to the ancestors. Heaven is first of all not the land of the future, but of the past, the old ones are still there where all history began. The heaven
[792] in which the first Bakaïrí lived lay beside the earth in former times, and one could easily get over to it. Too many people died there, however, /350/ so the people moved to earth, and heaven rose up to where it is now and where the animals, the places, and the things which occur in the old stories may be seen to this day. "Everything remained as it was." "There were always Bakaïrí, but in the beginning there were very few." One
[811] need only hold fast to a few specific points, and one will recognize, in spite of all flights of fancy and in spite of all the elaboration by tradition, a core of naïve, sound logic in the Indians' explanation of nature.

811 The Indians know no "must." They regard every occurrence in nature as a unique occurrence, or more correctly as a unique action. Indeed, laws are in fact known only as the result of the common work of many -- those who live and have lived. And as long as there are no laws and at best only habits, each individual is at the center of the

75 /251 cont./
first and foremost jatobá /Hymnenaea/, then copaiba, the white or yellow trumpetbush /peúva de flôres brancas ou amarellas/, the vinhatico, the pindahiba /Xylopia/, etc. Knowing this, the first concern of the curer (piahi) called to treat the sick is to extract the sliver of wood that causes the discomfort, which is achieved by sucking on the patient.

764 775 [302] [301] Sometimes, in spite of the treatment, the latter dies. Then the dead man is painted with urucú (anoto); there are put in his ears and nostrils the feathers that adorned them in life; his belongings (icehiko) are gathered up, such as bow, arrows, etc., which are deposited along with their owner /252/ in the hole that will serve as grave, well covered with earth stamped down with the feet. In the afternoon the shadow rises in the guise of the curiangu (Pokuráu, Caprimulgus) and comes to drink mingáu, which was placed at the grave, on the spot that corresponds to the head. After a while it no longer returns.

775 The Bacaeris also speak of kxadopa, which is equivalent to our hobgoblins or lost souls and, it would seem, are the shadows of those who died a violent death. The following passage describes most clearly what is said concerning these beings.

Kxadopa goes wandering in the afternoon, says the piahi; it is all bone; it has holes for eyes; it wanders through the forest; manioc is its food; it wanders in the cultivated clearings; caterpillars, bicho de pau /"wood insect"/ and ants are its food; it comes to the house to drink mingáu (poʔu); take the food of the kxadopa outside, take beiju /manioc cakes/ and pirão /boiled manioc flour/ (pakxa); at night, in order to sleep, burn rubber, rub it on the door, on the door bar (anaxu, "nose"); the kxadopa does not come in, the rubber stinks and [533] he does not like the smell. Take his food to the grave; if you do not intone the song (erému) of the kxadopa, he does

/252 cont./ not go to the sky. Because of this, having slept several days, put mingáu in two small gourds; put the mingáu on the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; when the song is over the two gourds are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying; Kχukχukú (come, take heart!). When stopping, there is a blessing, saying: Aũfá! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we, too, are going to die, it is said, -- the piahi teaches.

/253/ Another passage has kχadopa in the form of a tatou (Mugaru, Dasypus) in the middle of an abandoned village /tapéra/ and advises that no one should walk where a fight took place.

For a while bodies and spirits wander through the world, and the words of the piahi contain repeated descriptions of dead men's heads that wander about at night, livers that sit in doorways, or intestines on which one might step at night. Finally the shadow is free, and it climbs to the sky on a ladder of spun cotton, which passes underneath the star Toχoreŋ. At the entrance of the sky there is the Urubu with his trap; those who do not have pierced ears and nostrils and do not wear feathers are blessed by the Urubu, i.e., blown upon, and fall into the trap; those who are marked run no danger, and they go see Nakoeri.

Nakoéri is a word whose etymology cannot be explained by means of kχura-itano; fortunately, the language of the Acawoyos /Acawai/, Indians of British Guiana, Caribas like the Bacaeris, offers us a valuable hint in this connection. In the translation of the first part of Genesis, and of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, recently published in London (11)

11. I owe the acquisition of this book to the kindness of my friend, Dr. Eduardo Prado, to whom I repeat my thanks.

/253 cont./

19 by the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge," one reads
174 the famous sentence, the spirit of God moved over the waters
● 775 (Genesis, 1, 2): Makonàima "Yakwarri" otoupou tona poropohru, in which "Yakwarri" means "spirit." "Nakoeri" and "Yakwarri" are identical words, semantically and even phonetically, since the n in the former, like the y in the latter, are /254/ possessive indices of the third person; the double r in the English transcription must represent the same sound as the single r in our writing (12) and the transformation of a into o, o into w,

12. Any statement is risky concerning the English R. "The consonant R," writes Miss Laura Soames, "is the most perplexing element in our language. Dr. Ellis wrote in 1875, that after more than thirty years study, he was not certain whether he had yet mastered its protean intricacies" /cited in English/ (An introduction to Phonetics, 56, London, 1891.)

is a common occurrence in the most diverse languages. We can thus translate Nakoeri in the same manner as Yakwarri, as "spirit."

19 The Akawoio /Acawai/ permits us to take another step
174 forward. Fiat lux in Akawoio is: Akwa weijima. Would not akwa, "light," be the radical of Nakoeri and Yakwarri, and would not these names signify originally "the shining one"? The answer is reserved for the grammarians; the continuation of this study may possibly prove that the affirmative is to be concluded from the Bacaeri traditions.

539 The Bacaeri himself will explain better what he knows about Nakoeri.

/255 cont./

539
●775 In the sky the shadow, which had already been changed previously into a Kxadopa or Caprimulgus, reaches its final evalution by transubstantiating into the Yamüra. For an explanation of this word, we need not go beyond the Bacaeri: Yamüra plainly comes from Yamu, "dark," and signifies the dark, gloomy principle.

It is natural to inquire whether the icekiko, that is, the belongings, the "baggage" as I. translated it, which are put with the dead man, /256/ undergo a transformation similar to that of the owner. The texts do not answer categorically, but lead one to understand that this is the case, because the yamüra own canoes, baskets, clubs, which are, however, in no way similar to those used on earth: they are animals. The reader may judge this according to the following passage.

539
825 Anta is the basket of Yamüra; Anta goes about on the back of Yamüra, --Yamüra goes to eat mandioca, to eat squash, to eat gourds, to eat beans; it is not the Anta that eats;--in the basket Yamüra gathers squash, gathers beans, gathers gourds, etc.; when he gathers Yamüra carries away.

Also the Queixada /white-lipped peccary/--the Queixada comes to the clearing to eat mandioca--the Queixada also comes on the back of Yamüra--it roots up mandioca, it roots up carâ /Dioscorea/, it roots up batata, --when it roots up, Yamüra carries it away, the Queixada;--this is why Queixada is not to be found--Queixada does not appear because Yamüra hid it.

Also the Anta, etc.; at midday the Anta sleeps, it walks at night, etc.

Caitetú /collared peccary/ is also basket of Yamüra. Caitetú only goes in threes; it digs up tree roots, it digs up mandioca roots, it digs up carâ roots, it digs up batata roots.

In his resting place, Yamüra makes mingáu, grates mandioca, cooks carâ, cooks batata, bakes beijú.

/269 cont./

75 For his part, the curer can also steal the shadow of a person.

He takes advantage of the sleep of the one against whom he is angry (piahi iewirocenibüri), and, seizing the shadow that is passing by, he takes it to various places, asking it mercilessly whether it knows where it is. Soon the piahi iewiroceni-büri feels cold and feverish and falls ill. The grandfather and the mother beg for the protection of the curer: Come to see my son, says the mother; come to see what is making this son of mine sick. ' If they do not say this, the piahi makes the person die. /270/ If they do say it, the piahi replies: "Your son is a coward, this is why he is ill; but he is lying only so that no one will know that it was he. In the afternoon he goes out shouting down the path; at night he returns home shouting, he orders the fire to be put out, and the ceremony is almost the same as for the Topiehe, and the curer's payment is a cotton netting.

At the end of this story which we are summarizing, the power of the curer is stressed once more.

756 Piahi wanders about with yamũra, wanders about with the jaguar (udo-do, the same radical as udo, udoréri, "enemy"), he goes to the sky, he goes to the water, he goes into the snake, he goes into the sucuri /water boa/, he goes into little birds, he goes into any flying thing; this is why he frightens us; inside the snake he bites us, inside the jaguar; he knows who dies; he goes like the wind, he goes into the village, he goes nearby, he tears down houses with a hook, he does all these things when he is angry.

776 Thus, the Bacaeri sees three great forces in the world:
775 Nakoeri, inactive, kind, and remote, who requires no cult
756 because he does no harm; yamũras, souls of the ancestors, who have gone to the sky and, while able to do good, can likewise do evil and must be propitiated continuously; the piahi, yamũras

/270 cont./
776
775
752
of a higher order because they come back to life after they have died and return to live among men.

Aside from these three principles, we find unclear figures and concepts, probably vestiges of older ideas.

776
[114]
Dr. C. v. d. Steinen speaks of Kilaino oroiko, which he translates as "devil." I. is not familiar with such a being, but simply /271/ Kilãino, evil beings who dwell in the forest or in the hills, assume various forms, eat mice and small birds, do not pass water, hide dead game and the arrows shot, the things that fall from people's hands; answer the shouts of a person, and shout in order to mislead those who walk through the forest.

[191]
Of the same type are: Kxarowi, who goes about at night, carrying a toad for an ax, always animated by the desire to do evil to the Bacaeri, but usually duped by the latter, in short similar to the Curupiras of the Amazon as they appear in the stories collected by Barbosa Rodrigues; and Ywanaguroro, the lord of the hunt, easy to identify because one side of his chest is larger than the other, and he kills against it the persons who offend him--a figure similar to the Caipora of the Tupi.

776
825
There is also mention of a lake where the grandfather of the cachorro fish, the grandfather of the piranha, the grandfather of the snake, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the needlefish, the grandfather of drums, etc. dwell. Ghosts appear in the middle of the water. No anta, capybara, or queixada goes there, no flying thing flies across it. Ancient Bacaeris took a canoe there, but a whirlpool overturned it, the Kxurixio (a sort of enchanted otter) ate them, and only the dead men's bellies appeared.

The jaguar assú, the horse assú, the queixada assú, the turtle assú, the crab assú of fresh water, etc. are also there. Everything is swinging at the edge of the water. The Kxurixio and the Kxuxobe shake their heads which sound like thunder, and those who hear this sound fall ill and die, and those who see the grandfathers of the animals also die. /272/ At the edge of the lake there is a swamp, and the lake is the semen of animals.

/263 cont./

about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokúinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúto feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamũra, topiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamũra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutulu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

/264 cont./
survives death. (6) During sleep, kagatopuri leaves the body

6. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 43, 44.

and goes wandering through distant regions; on returning it causes the individual to awaken. To awaken a person suddenly might kill him, for kagatopuri would not have time to return to the body. After death the fluid soul leaves the body once and for all and changes into kadopa. The kadopa are wandering souls that continue in this way until their final transformation into iamüra which occurred in the domains of Nakoeri, the culture hero. Nakoeri was a combination culture hero and creator god of the Bakairí. In a /265/ text obtained by Capistrano de Abreu, Nakoeri first makes all the animals, and, using a plaster of clay, creates the Bakairí. (7) Next he

7. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 47.

makes a cotton ladder and climbs to the sky.

The kadopa and iamüra suffer hunger and thirst and eat like the other Indians. For this they use the bodies of animals. When the kadopa disturbed the aldeas, rituals were performed to try to attract the wandering souls in order next to frighten them. One Bakairí account refers to the kadopa thus:

> "... if you do not intone kadopa's song he does not go to the sky. Because of this /after/ many days of sleeping put manioc paste /mingáu/ in two small clay cups /cúias/; put the paste in the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; the cups are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying ku ku ku (now, cheer up!).

/265 cont./

When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

In Nakoeri's aldea, the kadopa change into iamũra. But the iamũra also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamũra portrayed by these animals. (9)

9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamũra, acquiring the corresponding powers, and become a sorcerer-doctor. Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

77 /270 cont./
satisfies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by iamũra and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairi himself was a dual being: a spirit, kagatopũri, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, denser spirit, kati. After death kagatopũri went through the stages of kadopa, a wandering spirit, and finally iamũra. For this reason the Bakairi did not appear to be afraid of their dead; bodies were more than vestments, but the kadopa were indeed dangerous.

784 182 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamũra, kadopa, topiehe, karoui, iuanaguroro, and kilaimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, uanki, at the most difficult moments, such as birth, puberty, [796] death, and shamanistic initiation. Uanki was followed by the restoration of the individual /to the community/ through the 756 tadaunũto celebration. The other method was shamanism. 784 Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have consti- 182 tuted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they 756 had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural 787 was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other 296 narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to control the iamũra and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

• 795 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nakoeri's large aldea, reflects as might be expected the organization of their aldeas. Once changed into iamũra, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as wrappers for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

[P.74-B]

881 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of *tudawuito*. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony during which all the Bacairí songs and dances were performed and the young people were presented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which they put around their hips and to which the uluri were attached. The boys and girls were now eligible for marriage.

[533] [535] [431] [301] [291] [582]

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKÜINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

585

BURIAL (EPIODÍLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun.

768 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor.

765 There was a mourning period (*kapéne*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of *wabi*. [1/A]

SHAMANISM

775 When a person died, the ghost (*kadépe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

1/2 [ie. a state of ritual danger]

735 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairí did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid 736 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain 761 evil spirits—for instance, *eradupíru*, who caused 753 death and sickness.

756 To become a shaman (*piáji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period [748] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would [755] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the 756 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be 757 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit [775] helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to [539] him instructed him how to make a flute (either *emixi* or *kawapíru*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

754 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-765 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing 758 objects from the body the shamans prepared med-757 icines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pemáwa* tuber, and *tawiji* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For [245] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kawanásai* plant was used. The Bacairí also prepared aphrodisiacs [P-55] from the *kutáiwa* plant and by mixing piqui nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

526 The Bacairí played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *toiyapuáli*. The ball (*toia*) [249] was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was